

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6636

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 KIGALI 1522

FOR AF/C

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: UNGA, RW, US
SUBJECT: UNGA BILATERALS: ISSUES AND TALKING POINTS

REF: STATE 220330; KIGALI 1514

FOLLOWING ARE OUR SUGGESTIONS (REFTEL):

1. US ASSISTANCE LEVELS.

A. IDENTIFICATION: GOR BELIEVES OUR LACK OF CONCRETE ACTION TO INCREASE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO RWANDA BELIES OUR RHETORIC. IT IS DUBIOUS OF OUR CAUTIOUS STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH TO PROJECT DEVELOPMENT AND SEEKS INSTEAD MAJOR POLITICAL COMMITMENT FOR PROJECTS "WORTHY OF US STRENGTH AND WEALTH." AND IT QUESTIONS WHY DESIGN STAGES SHOULD BE SO DRAWN OUT AND COMPLEX AND LEAD TIMES SO LONG.

B. US OBJECTIVES: TO REASSURE GOR THAT WE ARE SEEKING SUBSTANTIAL INCREASE IN ASSISTANCE LEVELS TO RWANDA OVER NEXT 5 YEARS; TO OBTAIN ITS UNDERSTANDING AND COOPERATION IN CAREFUL PHASED APPROACH REQUIRED BY CONGRESS.

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C. RWANDAN OBJECTIVES: MORE GENEROUS US ASSISTANCE LEVELS; LARGER PROJECTS WITH GREATER "IMPACT"; SEEDIER DESIGN AND IMPLEMENTATION; IN GENERAL, TANGIBLE EVIDENCE OF OUR SERIOUS INTEREST IN RWANDAN DEVELOPMENT, ESPECIALLY IN FOOD PRODUCTION AREAS.

D. ESSENTIAL FACTORS: PROPOSED (ABS) LEVELS FOR

DIRECT BILATERAL US ASSISTANCE, INCLUDING PL-480, ARE SCHEDULED TO RISE FROM \$1.6 MILLION IN FY-78, \$4.1 MILLION IN FY-79, TO \$6.5 MILLION IN FY-80, AND WE LOOK FOR THEM TO REMAIN AT ABOUT LETTER LEVELS OR HIGHER IN SUCCEEDING YEARS. INCREASED US ASSISTANCE IS JUSTIFIED BY RWANDA'S OWN EFFORTS IN FIELDS TO WHICH WE ATTACH HIGH PRIORITY: FOOD PRODUCTION, RURAL HEALTH, POPULATION, VOCATIONAL EDUCATION. AID DESIGN EFFORTS HAVE HIT SOME SNAGS, HOWEVER, DUE IN PART TO RWANDA'S INEXPERIENCE WITH AID SYSTEM. RWANDA PREFERS TO PROCEED FROM GENERAL POLITICAL AGREEMENT TO SPECIFIC TECHNICAL DETAILS, WHEREAS AID IS REQUIRED TO OPERATE IN REVERSE. NEVERTHELESS, OUR PLANNING AIMS AT CUMULATIVE PROGRAMS OF MAJOR IMPORTANCE AND SUBSTANTIAL ALUE TO RWANDAN DEVELOPMENT.

E. TALKING POINTS:

-- US IS PLEASED THAT RWANDA'S DEVELOPMENT GOALS AND EFFORTS COINCIDE CLOSELY WITH OUR OWN AREAS OF PRIMARY EMPHASIS, AND WE SINCERELY HOPE TO PLAY AN INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT ROLE IN HELPING MEET THOSE GOALS.

-- US ASSISTANCE PROCEDURES ARE ADMITTEDLY SLOW AND COMPLEX, BUT WE HOPE RWANDANS WILL UNDERSTAND AND COOPERATE WITH OUR EFFORTS TO BE HELPFUL. WHILE WE
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CANNOT OFFER GUARANTEES OF ASSISTANCE UNTIL PROJECTS ARE FULLY DESIGNED AND CAREFULLY NEGOTIATED, WE BELIEVE THIS SYSTEM ASSURES PROJECTS' EVENTUAL SUCCESS AND AVOIDS MISTAKES.

-- WE ALSO HOPE RWANDA WILL UNDERSTAND THAT OUR PHASED APPROACH MERELY MEANS THAT PROJECTS BEGIN SMALL; IF APPROPRIATE, THEY MAY GROW TO MAJOR DIMENSIONS IN SUBSEQUENT YEARS (AS HAS "GRENARWA," OUR SUCCESSFUL \$2.9 MILLION FOOD STORAGE AND MARKETING PROJECT).

2. PEACE CORPS VOLUNTEERS.

A. IDENTIFICATION: SENIOR RWANDAN OFFICIALS, INCLUDING PRES HABYARIMANA, HAVE RECENTLY EXPRESSED MISGIVINGS ABOUT VALUE OF VOLUNTEERS TO RWANDAN DEVELOPMENT. WHILE NOT "REFUSING" PCV'S, THEY BELIEVE RWANDA HAS FAR GREATER NEED OF DEVELOPMENT CAPITAL AND HIGH-LEVEL EXPERTISE. IN THIS SPIRIT, THEY DECLINED LAST MONTH TO ACCEPTSBUR KEY PEACE CORPS PROPOSAL FOR FISH CULTURE EXTNESION (FIRST PHASE: 12 PCV'S, \$150,000 IN AID SUPPORTING FUNDS).
DECISION PLACED FUTURE OF OUR EMBRYONIC PC

PROGRAM IN SERIOUS DOUBT.

B. US OBJECTIVES: TO EXPLAIN OUR CONVICTION THAT
PC HAS IMPORTANT SERVICES TO OFFER RWANDA IN MEEING
BASIC HUMAN NEEDS; TO MAKE CLEAR THAT WE DO NOT CONSIDER
VOLS A SUBSTITUTE BUT RATHER A SUPPLEMENT TO CAPITAL
ASSISTANCE.

C. RWANDAN OBJECTIVES: TO ASSURE US THAT DECISION REGARDING
PCV'S AND FISH CULTURE PROJECT WAS NOT POLITICALLY MOTIVATED
BUT RATHER BASED ON UNSATISFACTORY EXPERIENCES WITH VOLS FROM
OTHER COUNTRYZE; AND TO PERSUADE US THAT RWANDA'S REAL NEED
IS FOR MORE DEVELOPMENT CAPITAL, NOT VOLS HOWEVER WELL-
INTENTIONED.
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D. ESSENTIAL FACTORS: PC PROGRAM BEGAN HERE IN 1975 AS
AN ADJUNCT TO ZAIRE PROGRAM AND WITH NO RESIDENT PC STAFF.
FIRST VOLS WERE ASSIGNED AS ENGLISH PROFESSORS AT NATIONAL
UNIVERSITY (3) AND TECHNICIANS ATTACHED
TO AID (2) -- JOBS NOT CONSISTENT WITH CURRENT PC PHILOSOPHY.
PCD FOR RWANDA ARRIVED LAST DECEMBER AND HAS FOUND MUCH
RECEPTIVITY FOR VOLS AMONG TECHNICAL GOR LEVELS BUT STILL HAS
NO OFFICIAL REQUESTS IN AREAS SUITABLE TO PC; RWANDANS
SEEK TECHNICIANS TO RUN THINGS, NOT VOLS TO WORK ALONGSIDE.

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E. TALKING POINTS:

-- WE WERE DEEPLY DISAPPOINTED THAT AGREEMENT WAS NOT POSSIBLE ON FISH CULTURE PROJECT EMPHASIZING EXTENSION WORK BY PCV'S. WE DID NOT VIEW VOLS AS A "SUBSTITUTE" FOR CAPITAL AID BUT AS A VALUABLE SUPPLEMENT.

-- AID WILL REVIEW FISH CULTURE POSSIBILITIES IN LIGHT OF RWANDAN EMPHASIS ON CONSTRUCTION AND MATERIALS, BUT WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT GRASS-ROOTS EXTENSION WORK OF THE SORT PC WAS TO HAVE PROVIDED IS ESSENTIAL INGREDIENT TO PROJECT'S SUCCESS.

--NWE HOPE GOR WILL CHANGE ITS MINF REGARDING PEACE CORPS AND ITS POTENTIAL VALUE, PROVEN DRAMATICALLY IN SO MANY OTHER COUNTRIES WHERE DEMAND FOR VOLS IS HIGHER THAN LE C N MEET.

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UNTIL THEN, WE SHALL HAVE TO ASSIGN PC RESOURCES ELSEWHERE (THIS POINT WILT LAVE TO BE REFINED WITH PC/W).

3. HUMAN RIGHTS.

A. IDENTIFICATION: AGAINST BACKDROP OF HUTU-TUTSI ETHNIC VIOLENCE AND CONTINUING TENSIONS, RECORD OF PRESENT RWANDAN GOVT IS GOOD AND IS IMPROVING. GOR DESERVES OUR CONGRATULATIONS AND ENCOURAGEMENT.

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B. US OBJECTIVES: TO RECOGNIZE RWANDAN PROGRESS, NOTABLY ITS RECENT HOSTING OF AFRICAN COLLOQUIUM ON HR AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND ITS ANNOUNCED SCHEDULE FOR RETURN TO CONSTITUTIONAL RULE; AND TO URGE PERSEVERENCE.

C. RWANDAN OBJECTIVES: RECOGNITION FOR ITS EFFORTS; PERHAPS ASSISTANCE IN UPGRADING JUDICIAL STANDARDS AS A MEANS OF ENSURING RESPECT FOR HR.

D. ESSENTIAL FACTORS: THOUSANDS DIED IN 1959-62 ETHNIC VIOLENCE, WHEN HUTU MAJORITY OVERTHREW TUTSI ARISTOCRACY, AND BITTERNESS CONTINUES TO STRAIN RELATIONS (INTERNALLY AS WELL AS WITH TUTSI-RULED BURUNDI NEXT DOOR). RECONCILIATION PHILOSOPHY OF HABYARIMANA GOVT, IMPLEMENTED THROUGH PROPORTIONAL QUOTA SYSTEM FOR JOBS, SCHOLARSHIPS, ETC., AND THROUGH FRIENDLY OVERTURES TOWARD BURUNDI, HAS SIGNIFICANTLY EASED TENSIONS. TENSIONS REMAIN, HOWEVER: LAST MONTH'S NATIONAL CENSUS FRIGHTENED TUTSIS WHO FEARED THEY WERE BEING LISTED FOR SLAUGHTER AND HUNDREDS FLED THE COUNTRY; CENSUS RESULTS MAY UPSET HUTU IN TURN, AS THEY SUGGEST HIGHER TUTSI NUMBERS THAN PREVIOUSLY BELIEVED. GOR DEMONSTRATED BROADER HR CONCERN BY SPONSORING SERIOUS EXAMINATION OF HR IN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT

CONTEXT AT BUTARE IN JULY (WE HELPED FUND THE EVEN). IT
RECENTLY ANNOUNCED SCHEDULE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL
REFERENDUM AND ELECTIONS WHICH WILL RESTORE FULL POLITICAL
LEGITIMACY, ALBEIT UNDER ONE-PARTY SYSTEM. SOME 30-40 OFFICIALS
OF PREVIOUS REGIME REMAIN IN PRISON, BUT BOR DENIES THEY ARE
"POLITICAL PRISONERS" AS ALL WERE DULY TRIED AND CONVICTED OF
SPECIFIC CRIMES; A FEW HAVE FINISHED ZERMS AND BEEN RELEASED.

E. TALKING POINTS:

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-- WE BELIEVE BUTARE HR COLLOQUIUM MADE AN IMPORTANT CONTRI-
BQTION TO INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING AND RESPECT FOR HUMAN
RIGHTS, AND WE APPLAUD RWANDAN INITIATIVE IN ORGANIZING AND
HOSTING THE EVENT.

-- AS PRES CARTER INDICATED IN HIS JULY 5 NATIONAL DAY
GREETINGS TO PRES HABYARIMANA, WE CONSIDER GOR EFFORTS IN
HUMAN RIGHTS FIELD ENCOURAGING; WE ESPECIALLY ADMIRE EFFORTS
TO IMPROVE RELATIONS AND STRENGTHEN COOPERATION WITH BURUNDI.

-- WE RECOGNIZE, AS PARTICIPANTS IN BUTARE COLLOQUIUM
POINTED OUT, THAT CIVIL/POLITICAL RIGHTS CANNOT BE SEPARATED
FROM RIGHT TO PHYSICAL WELL-BEING; THIS IS WHY US AID
EFFORTS AIM AT MEETING BASIC HUMAN NEEDS, ESPECIALLY FOOD
AND HEALTH.

--WE ARE CONCERNED THAT RWANDAN REPUTATION IS MARRED BY ITS
REFUSAL TO ALLOW IMPARTIAL OUTSIDE INSPECTION
OF PRISONS HOUSING CONVICTED CRIMINALS OF FORMER REGIME;
WE BELIEVE SUCH INSPECTIONS ARE A HEALTHY THING IN PRINCIPLE
FOR ALL NATIONS, ESPECIALLY THOSE WHOSE RECORDS ARE GOOD.

4. POPULATION PROBLEMS.

A. IDENTIFICATION: GOR HAS MOVED SLOWLY YET DELIBERATELY
IN PAST 18 MONTHS FROM DEEP-SET OPPOSITION TO SERIOUS
CONSIDERATION OF FAMILY PLANNING OPTIONS. WE WANT TO ENCOURAGE
THIS IMPORTANT TREND WITHOUT SUFFOCATING IT IN OUR EMBRACE.

B. US OBJECTIVES: TO RECOGNIZE THAT GOR IS FACING UP TO
DEMOGRAPHIC PROBLEMS AND REITERATE OUR WILLINGNESS TO HELP.

C. RWANDAN OBJECTIVES: PASSIVE (FONMIN IS NOT RPT NOT
A FAMILY-PLANNING ADVOCATE).

D. ESSENTIAL FACTORS: RWANDA IS AFRICA'S MOST DENSELY POPULATED
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COUNTRY, AND IT FACES WIDESPREAD MALNUTRITION AND ECOLOGICAL
DISASTER IN YEARS JUST AHEAD. NATIONAL CENSUS JUST COMPLETED
WILL PROVIDE IMPORTANT INFO FOR DESIGNING EFFECTIVE
DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY AND MAY REVEAL SITUATION TO BE EVEN WORSE THAN
BELIEVED. CURGING RWANDA'S POPULATION GROWTH (ABOUT 3 PERCENT)
IS HIGH ON OUR LIST OF GOALS, AND WE HAVE PLAYED A KEY ROLE
BEHIND THE SCENES IN ENCOURAGING GOR TO COME TO GRIPS WITH
PROBLEM. GOR IS NOW TAKING TENTATIVE STEPS -- WITH OUR ASSISTANCE,
VIA PATHFINDER -- TOWARD PROVIDING FP COUNSELING SERVICES NATION-
WIDE. IT DOES SO AGAINST DEEP-SEATED TRADITIONAL
AND RELIGIOUS OPPOSITION, HOWEVER, AND OUR OWN ROLE MUST THEREFORE
BE DISCREET.

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F. TALKING POINTS:

-- WE ARE GRATIFIED THAT GOR IS FACING ITS DEMOGRAPHIC
PROBLEM SQUARELY; WE UNDERSTAND HOW DEEPLY ENTRENCHED
IS THE TRADITION OF LARGE FAMILIES.

-- OUR ASSISTANCE PROGRAM AIMS AT MEETING BASIC NEEDS
OF GROWING POPULATION (ESPECIALLY FOOD); WE EXPECT THAT
GOVERNMENT'S PLANS TO PROVIDE FP SERVICES WILL COMPLEMENT THESE
EFFORTS, AND WE ARE PREPARED TO HELP GOR PROVIDE THOSE
SERVICES IF ASKED.

5. MILITARY ASSISTANCE.

A. IDENTIFICATION: GOR ASKED US FOR MILITARY ASSISTANCE
IN 1977, COUCHING ITS REQUEST IN DEVELOPMENTAL

TERMS IN HOPE OF DUCKING UNDER CURRENT US POLICIES TO
REDUCE ARMS TRANSFERS; BUT ITS REQUEST WAS TURNED DOWN ANYWAY.
GOR HAS NOT GIVEN UP, AND ITS APPETITE WAS WHETTED BY
SHABA II. EMBASSY AND AF PROPOSED A MODEST IMETP PROGRAM FOR
FY-80 (\$50,000), AS A TOKEN RESPONSE FOR OUR CREDIBILITY'S
SAKE, BUT THAT TOO FAILED TO PROSPER.

B. US OBJECTIVES: TO AVOID SUBJECT IF POSSIBLE; TO REAFFIRM
(IF NECESSARY) OUR DESIRE TO LIMIT ARMS TRANSFERS TO LDC'S
BY ALL NATIONS AND RESTATE OUR BELIEF IN PROMOTING REGIONAL
COOPERATION AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO ARMS RACES.
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C. RWANDAN OBJECTIVES: TO IMPRESS UPON US THE SERIOUS THREAT
REPRESENTED BY SOVIETS AND CUBANS IN AFRICA; AND TO APPEAL FOR
RECONSIDERATION OF OUR DECISION AGAINST MILITARY AID TO
RWANDA.

D. ESSENTIAL FACTORS: RWANDA'S 4,000-MAN ARMY IS POORLY
EQUIPPED BY ANY STANDARD AND DISTINCTLY OUT-GUNNED BY ALL ITS NEIGH-
BORS. RECENT SHABA CONFLICTS HEIGHTENED GOR CONCERN FOR ITS
OWN SECURITY AND INCREASED FEARS OF SOVIET/CUBAN INROADS NEARBY,
EXPECIALLY AMONG TUTSI EXILE GROUPS. SINCE KEY RWANDAN LEADERS
ARE MILITARY MEN, WE CANNOT DISMISS THEIR SECURITY CONCERNS
WITHOUT PREJUDICING OUR INTERESTS IN OTHER AREAS. SOME (INCLUDING
FONMIN) ALREADY BELIEVE PRES. HABYARIMANA PAYS TOO LITTLE
ATTENTION TO SECURITY AND TOO MUCH TO DEVELOPMENT. WHILE WE DO
NOT FAVOR AN ARMS PROGRAM FOR RWANDA, WE WISH TO ENCOURAGE
MILITARY TO SUPPORT GOR DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS. WITHOUT AT LEAST
TOKEN ASSISTANCE PROGRAM, HOWEVER, OUR IFFLUENCE WILL
REMAIN MARGINAL.

E. TALKING POINTS:

-- WE RECOGNIZE GOR SECURITY CONCERNS, BUT OUR EXAMINATION
LAST YEAR OF ITS ASSISTANCES
QUEST DETERMINED THAT NEED
FOR SUCH AID WASOIOUSUFFICIENT ZO JUSTIFY VIOLATING OUR ARMS
TRANSFDR POLICY.

-- BE BELIEVE EMPHASIS MUST BE PLACED ON REGIONAL
COOPERATION, AS ALTERNATIVE TO ARMS RACE; WE WISH TO SUPPORT
AFRICANS' OWN EFFORTS TO SOLVE SECURITY PROBLEMS PEACEFULLY.

6. GORILLA PRESERVATION.
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A. IDENTIFICATION: RECENT KILLINGS OF MOUNTAIN GORILLAS HAVE STRAINED RWANDA'S RELATIONS WITH US CONSERVATIONISTS AND WITH RENOWNED AMERICAN RESEARCHER DR. DIAN FOSSEY. IN PLACE OF RECRIMINATION, EFFECTIVE COLLABORATION IS NEEDED.

B. USOBJECTIVES: TO EXPRESS UNDERSTANDING AND APPRECIATION FOR RWANDA'S EFFORTS TO PRESERVE GORILLAS AND THEIR HABITAT TO DATE; AND TO ENCOURAGE GOR TO COLLABORATE MORE CLOSELY WITH INTERNATIONAL CONSERVATION GROUPS ON PROGRAMS TO PRESERVE THIS ENDANGERED SPECIES.

C. RWANDAN OBJECTIVES: UNLIKELY TO BE RAISED, UNLESS TO REGISTER CONCERN OVER ATTACKS ON GOR BY US CONSERVATION GROUPS; PERHAPS TO HINT THAT DR. FOSSEY HERSELF MAY HAVE PROVOKED KILLINGS BY HER EXCESSIVE ZEAL IN DEALING WITH POACHERS.

D. ESSENTIAL FACTORS: DEATHS OF THREE WELL-KNOWN GORILLAS IN PAST EIGHT MONTHS PROVOKED OUTCRY AMONG US CONSERVATIONISTS, WHO FAULT GOR FOR FAILING TO TAKE EFFECTIVE PROTECTION MEASURES. IN FACT, GOR SHARES THEIR CONCERN AND HAS DEALT OUT STIFF PUNISHMENT TO APPREHENDED POACHERS; BUT IS LACKS RESOURCES TO MOUNT EFFECTIVE PROGRAM OF SURVEILLANCE AND IMPROVED PARK MANAGEMENT. DR. FOSSEY HAS FOCUSED WORLD ATTENTION ON GORILLAS' PLIGHT, BUT HER RELATIONS WITH GOR HAVE BEEN UNEVEN AND HER PERSONAL HANDLING OF POACHERS HAS BORDERED ON OUTRAGE. WIDENING OPINION BELIEVES POACHERS ARE KILLING "HER" GORILLAS IN RETALIATION, AND THERE ARE MOUNTING PRESSURES FOR HER EXPULSION (WHICH WOULD SURELY CAUSE ANOTHER OUTCRY AMONG CONSERVATIONISTS). INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IS NEEDED; AT OUR URGING GOR WILL PRESENT MODEST PROPOSAL FOR ASSISTANCE AT CONSERVATION MEETING AT ASHKHABAT IN SEPT-OCT.

E. TALKING POINTS:

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- WHILE SHARING WORLDWIDE CONCERN FOR MOUNTAIN GORILLA'S SURVIVAL, WE RECOGNIZE RWANDA'S OWN EFFORTS TO PROTECT THEM WITIN ITS LIMITED MEANS, AND WE APPLAUD THESE EFFORTS.

-- DR. FOSSEY'S RESEARCH WORK IS HIGHLY REGARDED AMONG US SPECIALISTS, AND WHILE WE RECOGNIZE SHE IS A DIFFICULT PERSON TO DEAL WITH, WE HOPE GOR REALIZES HER AIMS ARE SAME AS THEIRS: TO PRESERVE THIS ENDANGERED SPECIES.

-- WE SHARE GOR BELIEF THAT OUTSIDE ASSISTANCE IS NECESSARY
IN UPGRADING PARK MANAGEMENT AND SURVEILLANCE, AND WE ENCOURAGE
CLOSE COLLABORATION WITH INTERNATIONAL CONSERVATION
GROUPS WHICH CAN PROVIDE THIS HELP.
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